UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

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AT THE SUMMIT

All wearied in the search for truth,
  Nor ever nearer to the goal,
  I turn the magnet from the pole
And laugh once more as light as youth.

O human heart! insatiate
  To solve the secret of thy birth
  And know thou shalt survive the earth!—
Though baffled centuries still wait!

Enfranchised from the vain pursuit
  I greet with joy each breaking day,
  And when the sunset fades in gray
Make melody with voice and lute.

At least I live and love, this hour!
  And meadows, sea, and sky are fair,
  And fellow workers everywhere
Are battling for man's larger dower.

Earth's forces and man's will keep time;
  High human needs must still be met;
  And simplest task, to duty set,
Is evermore a deed sublime.

So hoping, singing, toiling on,
  I waive the path of skyey birth,
  To smooth rough pathways of the earth
Where feet must tread when I am gone.

Boston. JAMES HARCOURT WEST.

That is a commendable bit of hospitality and capable of numerous applications which Mabel Osgood Wright gives at the close of her charming leaflet on the House Wren (No. 39, National Audubon Society). After describing the diligent and laborious achievement in the way of nest-building by Jenny and Johnny Wren in a tin pail which the housemaid had left to air on a fence stake—but let Mrs. Osgood tell it:

"What shall we do?" I said to the maid, on being shown the nest, which was well outlined between the morning and the evening of the first day. "My, but the work of them!" was her admiring reply. "Leave them have it; I can do with something else, for it's a sin to discourage that much pluck when it trusts you for the lend of the pail."

The writer of the note from which we make the following extract calls himself a "dead-head subscriber," and adds:

It is a matter I have never forgotten. . . . It is due you that I acknowledge my appreciation of the generous and long-continued favor. No number I have ever seen but that contained many times the worth of its cost, even had I been one of its financial supporters.

Such a "subscriber" cannot be classified in the "dead-head" list. Rather are they who perchance haltingly out of full purses send the subscription price, but leave the paper unopened, or, if they open and appreciate it, think the account squared when the check is sent. In so far as UNITY carries a fragment of the Gospel of Life, it carries with it obligations which cannot be canceled by a check, valuable, necessary and welcome as the check may be.

We offer no apologies to our readers for printing in full in these columns the maiden speech of William Kent, of California, in the House of Representatives on the Tariff question. Though he hails from California, Mr. Kent is still of the inner circle of UNITY and Lincoln Centre. He is no stranger to our readers. UNITY owes much of its life in these later years to the unflagging devotion of Mr. and Mrs. Kent. The speech is worth reproducing if for no other reason than for the fine blending of humor and common sense that is characteristic of Mr. Kent. But we print it because of our fundamental sympathy with its serious contention, for UNITY has convictions on the tariff as on other problems and its readers are accustomed to the free speech and wide range of the editorial management. Behind the laughter there is food for thought, and deeper than that there is profound pathos; here as everywhere the fountain of tears lies close to the place of laughter.

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the foundation of the Chicago Sinai Congregation was a dramatic time for the society to bid farewell to the stately Temple on the corner of Indiana Avenue and Twenty-first Street, a Temple of which the society was once justly proud and which still ranks as one of the notable auditoriums in the city of Chicago. But Dr. Hirsch's Society is nothing if it is not progressive and up-to-date, and so the new Sinai Temple and Social Center, which the Society will occupy with the beginning of the season in September, is nearing completion twenty-five blocks farther south on the corner of Forty-sixth and Grand Boulevard. Meanwhile, Dr. Hirsch has already flitted across the water for his accustomed summer escape, and the *Reform Advocate*, in a special number, sumptuously printed and profusely illustrated, tells the story of the half-century leadership enjoyed by this Society in Chicago and among the progressive Jews of America.

"The Child Welfare Exhibit," which is to occupy the Coliseum building in Chicago, May 11 to 25, promises to be an occasion to attract the attention and arouse the enthusiasm of the entire city. Most of the exhibits that the City of New York has been able to offer will be brought to Chicago and Chicago proposes to add much on its own account. The city is thoroughly organized and the churches, Sunday-schools, Centers, Public Schools, Health Department and attendant activities are doing their best.

District No. 8 of the Public Schools, which represents some twenty different buildings, announces that "A Grand Chorus of 1900 Eighth Graders will give a matinee on Friday afternoon, May 12, and a program reaching from 'The Star Spangled Banner' to 'The Lost Chord,' and from 'When Johnny Comes Marching Home,' to Mendelssohn's 'Waiting for the Lord,' will be rendered."

The Committee on Churches, under the leadership of Professor Shailer Mathews, have arranged for a continuous live exhibition of work done and doing by the various Sunday-schools and kindred church activities. The work of the Abraham Lincoln Centre is to be on continuous exhibition from 10 a. m., to 10 p. m., on May 24. The exhibition will include a rendition of Longfellow's "Masque of Pandora" by the children of the Sunday-school, and an actual reproduction of the Sunday-school service as practiced by the children of All Souls Church, a service which is unique in the fact that for many years no hymn or service book has been used, the service being literally "by heart."

We wish there were some high and noble provision by which a man who has once occupied the dignified position of Judge on the bench might be relieved of the necessity of ever again resuming practice of law. We wish that public custom would reserve the title of "Judge" for those only who are actual occupants of the bench. It is a shock to find "Judges" that have won this dignified title and the respect and confidence of their fellow citizens, stooping again to the tricks and technicalities to which lawyers resort in the absence of a plain issue in the interest of justice and public weal. The late lamented William H. Baldwin, Jr., the great railroad man "in whom there was no guile," who has been called the "Sir Galahad of the Market-Place," recorded his great surprise and regret to find "that legal service received the highest fees which were rendered in the interest of evasion." The legal technicality that keeps the client's case out of court, that delays instead of hastening the trial that is to test the merits of the case, is, to say the least, questionable service, and one which we would like to believe beneath the dignity of a Jurist once trusted by the public with judicial dignity. Some such shock as this was experienced in Chicago this last week when those once honored with the confidence of the public on the bench used their forensic ability to defy the Senate of Illinois in its laudable ethical determination to ferret to its source the now nation-wide Lorimer scandal. There is no shadow of a doubt among right-minded people that unworthy means was used in investing these unworthy shoulders with the senatorial toga. There is also no shadow of a doubt that many indications point to the source of the corrupting money, but a "Judge" on the bench tutored by "Judges" off the bench, has for the time being thwarted the end of justice and enabled a banker to defy the State Senate and refuse to show the books by which, if he is guiltless, his own honor would be vindicated, but which, if he is guilty, should be examined for the honor and safety of the commonwealth.

Unitarians For Peace

The following circular letter issued from the office of the American Unitarian Association, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass., and addressed to the various Unitarian ministers of America, and the Resolution of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, that follows will explain themselves, and we hope will stimulate other religious organizations on both sides of the water to come promptly to the support of this great movement. It is time that the religious bodies were more consciously interested in the great affairs of the civic world. Posterity will forgive and forget many of the minor blunders and confusions of President Taft, if only he can write his name prominently into the history of progress by bringing about this epoch-making end of war between the United States and the parent country. This "end" between the great English-speaking nations will mark the beginning of the end between all the civilized powers of the world.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR:

On the 22d of March the President of the United States, in an address before the National Arbitration and Peace League, declared that in his judgment all international controversies, whether concerned with matters of property, with disputes about territory or with questions of national honor, should be submitted to a duly organized court of arbitration. He also expressed the hope and desire that the United States might thus agree with some other nation to submit all disputed questions to arbitration.

This sincere and timely declaration has made a profound impression both in America and in Europe. Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs, in an eloquent public address has given the recommendation his deliberate and unqualified endorsement. The churches and people of Great Britain have responded with eager and spontaneous enthusiasm. The non-conformist ministers have declared in a striking manifesto, "We believe that the great word coming from the heart of mankind and attended by the spirit of God has been spoken."

On every hand there is a strong desire for international peace. But this inestimable blessing cannot be secured, nor can an unqualified arbitration treaty with England or any other nation be negotiated, until the people who are weary of the burdens of militarism and who are longing for brother-

hood demand in unmistakable terms that war and the possibility of war must and shall cease.

In such a situation is it not peculiarly the privilege and province of the churches to create and lead public opinion? We earnestly recommend to the ministers of the Unitarian Churches that they should use this occasion to promote the cause of peace, and that the Unitarian congregations should by resolution convey to President Taft their hearty approval of his declaration and to their representatives in the national senate their strong desire that a comprehensive arbitration treaty should be concluded between the United States and Great Britain.

Trusting that this suggestion may meet with your personal approval and active co-operation, we are

Faithfully yours,
SAMUEL A. ELIOT,
President of the American Unitarian Association.
ELMER S. FORBES,
Secretary of the Department of Social and Public Service.
CHARLES W. WENDTE,
Secretary of the Department of Foreign Relations.

RESOLUTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

THAT WE, the COUNCIL of the BRITISH and FOREIGN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION, welcome with heartfelt thankfulness as "good tidings of great joy which shall be to all people," the news that a Treaty of Arbitration is in preparation between Great Britain and the United States of America. As representing the Unitarians of this Kingdom, we make earnest appeal to our brethren of the New World that, united as they are with us in the same faith of the Universal Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of all men, they will join with us to use all the influence they can exert to the overcoming of the numerous difficulties which beset the progress of negotiations and will not rest until this first step towards the establishment of settled peace and good-will among the nations of the world has been safely accomplished, and war between our two great peoples, so closely allied by our common inheritance from the past and our speech of today, be rendered, as far as it lies in our power, henceforth and forever impossible.

And that a copy of this resolution be sent to our fellow Unitarian, President Taft, with the expression of our warm appreciation of his untiring efforts in the cause of Arbitration; to our countryman, Sir Edward Grey, whose noble speech in the House of Commons has been as a trumpet call to wake up the nations to a consciousness of the dangers which beset the present situation of armed truce; and to Dr. S. A. Eliot, the President of the American Unitarian Association.

Report of the Vice Commission of Chicago

UNITY desires again to call the attention of its readers to the Report of the Vice Commission of Chicago on the Social Evil in the city of Chicago. A committee of thirty was appointed by Mayor Busse in response to a request from the Church Federation, composed of the prominent clergy representing six hundred congregations in the city, sent to the Mayor on January 31, 1910. The Committee named by the Mayor was thoroughly representative in that its list included prominent ministers, physicians, jurists, business men and women. Dean Walter T. Sumner, of the Episcopal Church, was chosen chairman, Edwin W. Sims, secretary, and George J. Kneeland, director of investigation. The Committee held long and repeated sessions in which they solicited the offices of those representing a wide range of experience and study, and they and their expert investigators went into the heart of the dark and sad mysteries.

After a year's work of the most careful kind the report is now offered in a bulky pamphlet of 368 pages, 83 pages of which are given to valuable appendices giving the full text of the laws of Illinois and ordinances of the city of Chicago bearing upon the question, with various tables and exhibits that further illuminate the work.

The main body of the report is given in seven chapters, viz: Existing Conditions in Chicago, The Social Evil and the Saloon, The Social Evil and the Police, Sources of Supply, Child Protection and Education, Rescue and Reform and Social Evil, and its Medical Aspects. Each chapter is replete with the result of direct investigation. The report is prefaced with an introduction and summary, and definite recommendations looking to "Constant repression of prostitution as the immediate method and absolute annihilation as the ultimate ideal." To this end it recommends the appointment of a "Morals Commission" as a permanent force, and the establishment of a "Morals Court." It has recommendations to federal, state, county and city officials. The duties of the police, of the Department of Health, the Board of Education, the Park Commissioners, churches, parents and philanthropic organizations are specifically pointed out and all these recommendations are characterized by a large degree of sanity.

The report necessarily leads the student and the reformer into the heart of the economic problems of the city,—the wage question and the child and woman labor problems.

The copy before us is of the preliminary numbered edition, subject to revision, and wanting in the necessary table of contents, indexes, etc. These we hope will be supplied in the final edition of 25,000, which ought to be widely circulated.

In appointing the Commission the Mayor unconsciously reveals the complacency that characterizes most city officials, and perhaps most respectable citizens, including the ministry. The Mayor says in a statement to the Press: "I think we can fairly assume that our vice problem is exactly like that of any American city . . . . . We can as a basis agree, I believe, that the practices of vice in Chicago have been of long continuation and that in this respect we are no better and no worse than any other American or European cities." If this dead uniformity has existed in the past it should no longer be offered as an excuse for complacency and inaction.

This report has shown the way not out of the difficulty but through it, and a way by which the personnel of municipal officers and leaders of public spirit will be tried out and tested to at least a variation. Each city should show work done, something accomplished, sections renovated and souls renewed on lines of its own.

It is worthy of mention that all this work has been accomplished under an appropriation of $10,000 by the City Council. The promised edition of 25,000 is

wholly inadequate to the opportunity, but it probably exhausts the resources of the Committee. This report is only for officials, educators and those who deal directly with human welfare, but such are numbered by the hundred thousands, and the wholesome publicity set forth in these pages should find its way into the hands of these responsible parties.

Copies can probably be secured within limits by addressing Vice Commission of Chicago, City Hall, Chicago.

Henry D. Thoreau, Pagan and Anarchist

The philosophy of the French and American revolutions rapidly developed into communist-anarchism. Few Americans appreciate today how nearly the philosophy of most of the great revolutionists approached anarchism. The social, political and pedagogical teachings of Rousseau, Locke and Pestalozzi all exaggerated the individual, as has been the prevailing American tradition ever since then. A man whose doctrines naturally succeeded these in the minds of liberal Americans was Fourier, who described society as a mosaic composed of pebbles, which were the individual human beings. There was, of course, nothing violent in these anarchistic principles, but they lacked the cohesion necessary to make a well-ordered society. The individuals were supposed to be held together by a voluntary communism, to which such a man as Robert Owen devoted his life in both Europe and America.

New England furnished plain sailing for the communist-anarchist theory. The Puritan believed in a theocracy made up of the elect, who were the direct representatives of God. They were guided by an inner light which dispensed with outer authority, and believed in natural rights as distinguished from privileges derived from society. Such are the doctrines incorporated in the Declaration of Independence. New England had also developed an efficient system of local self-government. Its communities were controlled by town meetings at which the people present passed the laws and provided for the administration. In the absence of any large municipal functions, the public school was the center of this intense local life. The citizen of Massachusetts was as nearly a law unto himself as possible.

Concord was a happy haven for communistic experiments and speculations, Fruitlands, the colony established by Bronson Alcott, and Brook Farm, the historic community celebrated by Hawthorne's "Blithedale Romance," were inevitable by-products of New England life. The most consistent anarchist of Concord was its chief native son. Although this little city harbored the most distinguished literary colony in the history of American letters, the only Concord native was Thoreau. He came of a mixed stock of simple-minded people and lived to the letter the simple life. He earned his living by a few months' work a year in manual occupations—farming, surveying and making pencils. He immortalized himself by two years of life in his cabin on Walden Pond, claiming to live there on twenty-seven cents a week, and saying that unless the human race perspire more than he did, there is no occasion to live by the sweat of the brow. His wants were so few that he felt the order of things should be reversed, making the seventh day man's day of toil and "the other six his Sabbath of the affections and the soul, in which to range this widespread garden and drink in the soft influence and sublime revelations of Nature."

Thoreau, like Enoch, walked with God, but as a pagan he searched for the soul of Nature. He found God in Nature and needed churches even less than he needed society: "For my part, I would rather look toward Rutland than Jerusalem. Rutland, modern town, land of ruts, trival and worn, not too sacred, and with no holy sepulcher, but profane green fields and dusty roads, and opportunity to live as holy a life as you can,—where the sacredness, if there is any, is all in yourself and not in the place."

Thoreau was a child of Nature among men, but felt no need of men or human institutions. His independence was extravagant and even injurious. As Lowell said to him: "Thoreau's experiment actually presupposed all that complicated civilization which it theoretically abjured. He squatted on another man's land; he borrowed an axe; his boards, his nails, his bricks, his mortar, his books, his lamp, his fish-hooks, his plow, his hoe, all turned state's evidence against him as an accomplice in the sin of that artificial civilization which rendered it possible that such a person as Henry D. Thoreau should exist at all." Nevertheless Thoreau drew a very genuine democracy from Nature. He shared Nature's impartiality. To him Nature's chief law was freedom. He plunged into the anti-slavery movement as the man might who was so contemptuous of the human race that the best could seem but little superior to the most inferior. At a time when all respectability in the North discountenanced the few Abolitionists, Thoreau's attitude was uncompromising. Lacking the fetish of property, he had no qualms about the abolition of slavery.

He recognized at once the value of John Brown's lawbreaking: "If this man's acts and words do not create a revival, it will be the severest possible satire on the acts and words that do. It is the best news that America has ever heard. Think of him, of his rare qualities! Such a man as it takes ages to make, and ages to understand; no mock hero, nor the representative of any party. A man such as the sun may not rise upon again in this benighted land, to whose making went the costliest material, the finest adamant; sent to be the redeemer of those in captivity; and the

only use to which you can put him is to hang him at the end of a rope ! Do yourselves the honor to recognize him, he needs none of your respect!"

Thoreau found the whole world epitomized in Concord, and led a life of contentment there, with rare journeys and with such local self-satisfaction that he felt no responsibility to society or the state. He treated all men alike. He was a genuine man and a devoted friend, but a poor citizen and an ineffectual Democrat.

CHARLES ZUEBLIN.

Inspiration

The old theory of inspiration, still curent among us, declared that the Bible was written as no other book ever was. God dictated it, so to speak, by direct revelation to the writers; it was therefore perfect and without mistake throughout. No one had a right to question its authority.

This, it was said, was claimed by the Bible itself. "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." Its pious use was thought to be commended by Jesus himself when he said, "Search the Scriptures." Unfortunately neither of these sayings really occurs in the Bible.

In addition, the more men began to inquire into the real nature of the "Sacred Scriptures," the more absurd any such position became. They found in them contradictions of all kinds. They found commands attributed to God which were worthy only of half-civilized men. They found statements corresponding to men's early ideas of the universe which fuller knowledge has shown to be impossible. They discerned too that, close beside writings of the highest spiritual character, there was much that is of little value to religion.

The Bible is a collection of Hebrew literature. Some of it is early and quite unspiritual, bearing all the marks of the rude ideas which gave it birth. Some of it is worthy to take its place with the most splendid achievements of the human spirit, calculated to create and foster, as no other literature has done, the noblest ideals of religion and of human life.

When we take the true idea of inspiration as meaning that which inspires, which kindles the enthusiasm of high ideals, how rich we are! We have not only the record of man's search after God which we call the Bible, but the wealth of all that is great and uplifting everywhere. Wherever human life has risen to its true dignity its record is for us a source of inspiration. That inspired word is wide as human experience. Our saints, our poets and prophets and teachers are of no one land or religion or literature. Whatever inspires is inspired of God.

It is then no written word merely. It is the living means whereby it is made possible for us to enter into personal companionship with the master souls of every time and of every age. They too have been on the road. They have had to meet the life conditions which are ours as well as theirs. Out of the achievement of their experience they are waiting to give us counsel and strength for the journey, to tell us how they climbed through what threatened to daunt them, to warn us against phantom lights by the way, to hearten us with the glow of their success and to cheer our hearts by their royal fellowship.

It is as we seek and find this uplift of the vital power of the spirit that we get at the heart of what are truly the sacred writings of the world—sacred not because they happen to be in some collection of authorized books, but with the natural sacredness of truth, of high human fellowship, of the clearer vision and noble courage which belong to us as heirs of the life of God.

W. HANFORD PULSFORD.

To All Religious Men and Women

[The following statement, after full discussion, was unanimously adopted by the New York Conference of Religion in General Committee.]

The New York State Conference of Religion deems it necessary to call attention to its distinctive mission as a work of more radical character than many suppose. The more obvious feature of it is promotion of religious fellowship between men of different creeds. This proceeds from the radical nature of the work itself, as the basis and the bond of such fellowship.

The Conference notes as the most hopeful of our social phenomena certain signs of a moral awakening, but must refuse to estimate these for more than they now portend—mere repair of the moral fences which during the last forty years have been dangerously breached. This is good; not good enough.

At present the goad of evils caused by tolerance of gross immoralities in financial, industrial, political and social life has compelled an awakening that is far short of the radical need. Compulsion to curb spoliation and abolish infamy is of lower moral worth and less moral effect than efforts, now sorely needed, to recover and re-enthrone the lost ideal of a religious morality, the loss of which is the root and seed of our present evils.

Effort for this is the distinctive mission and work of this Conference.

For this we reaffirm the essential faith both of Judaism and of Christianity in the kingdom of God on earth as the supreme ideal of human hope and endeavor—an ideal now more adequately conceived in the light of long experience and larger knowledge. Accordingly the Conference finds its aim and mission defined by the fact that this ideal is attainable only through culture in personal and social life of the religious morality which the Hebrew and the Christian Scriptures identically enjoin as the loyal imitation by the children of God of his character and ways as their Father and Lord.

To promote this religiously motived morality and the morally efficient religion which is inseparably one with it is therefore a work now clearly called for. Religion and patriotism unitedly urge it upon this Conference in view of the moral nervelessness that is now both a menace to our Republic, and the scandal of much that goes under the name of religion.

The scandal is pressed upon conscience by the

fact that, with a third of our people in church membership, our people, as a whole are accused by college presidents and eminent judges of lawless tendencies and lack of moral principle. What mean the recent shameful exposures of a wide-spread venality both at the ballot-box and in legislature? This certainly: the nominally religious leaven in the lump has been disgracefully ineffective.

Defining religion ethically as consisting essentially in attachment to God with the will, the Conference regards the practical identification of religion and morality as the goal of endeavor at which religion and ethics are jointly and inseparably pledged to aim.

As the prime desideratum for success in this endeavor, the Conference would lay all stress upon the deepening of a consciousness of God as the Eternal Spirit in whom all live and move, and who lives and moves in all, through all, above all, the Life and the Law of all. The teachings of modern ethics, that "the moral ideal belongs to the realm of the infinite," and that "it is in the constant effort to become better that goodness consists," concur with the teaching of Holy Scripture, that the necessary inspirations of progressive morality are to be found in a growing consciousness of the Living God as the Soul of the soul.

Auspicious for this endeavor is the increase of moral sensitiveness now perceptible in the community. The awakening begun should become thorough and complete. This is the distinctive purpose with which the Conference solicits co-operation. The foregoing outline of its endeavor is confidently commended to the conscientious consideration of all who would re-enthrone the Biblical ideals of a religion that is personally and socially regenerative in moral power, and of a progressive morality that is inspired by filial loyalty to God.

By direction of the Conference:

JAMES M. WHITON,
Chairman of the Executive Committee.
WILLIAM MILTON HESS,
General Secretary.

IN THE MIDST OF LIFE

The Jester won to the mountain peak
And turned to gaze behind—
"Was that a path for a step so weak?
Thank God that I was blind.

"The sunlit stretch where I laughed so loud,
Did it skirt that precipice?
The bridge where I stood to sketch the cloud,
Did it span that black abyss?

"When I turned aside to the little stream,
Was that somber tarn so near?
Was the eagle's swoop in the evening gleam
On the bones I see from here?"

He faced to the front again; his sight
Could scarce discern the track;
The slope on the left with mist was white,
And the wood below was black.

Into a hollow just ahead
The pathway crept along—
"Enough is hid for mirth," he said,
And the curlew heard his song.

—*E. T. Hopkins.*

THE PULPIT

Concerning the Production and Distribution of Wealth Under a Protective Tariff

SPEECH BY HON. WILLIAM KENT OF CALIFORNIA, IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, APRIL 28, 1911

We novices in the art or profession of manufacturing Federal law, subject, of course, to revision by the Senate, the President, the Supreme Court, and the powers above, have eagerly absorbed what has been said and have learned much that can not possibly be true. How could it all be true when judged by the votes on the reciprocity treaty and by the explanations given for those votes? There is no consensus of opinion on either side of the House, even amongst the most experienced and tutored as to the causes or probable effects of that measure.

In so far as the discussion relates to the protective-tariff theory, there is, however, some unanimity on one point, at least a partial agreement that the protective tariff should be regarded as a "local issue," and that this particular national policy must be wrought out of the clash of class, section, district, and other special interests, and settled by a sort of mutual give-and-take, less euphemistically known as log-rolling. This makes of the tariff a sort of grab-bag, and we may reasonably expect that the more powerful get the first, last, and biggest grabs.

I am a Republican, or what used to be a Republican, because I believe in the protection of infant industries that stand some eventual chance of becoming self-sustaining. That many of these industries, once fostered by protection, are now self-sustaining and do not need a protective tariff is abundantly shown and notoriously confessed as to the great steel industry by Mr. Andrew Carnegie. Many industries, having outgrown the cradle, have not been required to hustle for their livelihood, but have been carried bodily to a ward in the hospital where our standpat friends advocate keeping them during all eternity, to be doctored, nursed, and nourished at public expense. One is reminded of the prayer of the man who possessed a cantankerous invalid wife: "Oh, Lord, let her get well, or—or—something."

It is argued that by taxing one industry for the benefit of another industry, and vice versa, we create a home market that is productive of wealth. This brings to mind a story told by David Starr Jordan concerning the eagle and the blue-tailed lizard. It seems that the eagle one day swooped down upon the lizard and bit off and ate the lizard's tail; whereupon the eagle acquired sufficient energy to lay an egg. The lizard climbed the tree, sucked the egg, and, through the encouragement thus afforded, grew a new tail. This process continued through many years, apparently without much profit to either party save as it added to the interest of existence.

A tale of similar import, but more profitable sequence, was related of a man who lived near the Petaluma marshes and started to raise carp. He was doing fairly well selling carp from his pond, when he suddenly conceived the idea of raising a side line of cats for the fur. He discovered that he

could feed the carp to the cats and the cats to the carp, so that he increased mightily in his output of cats and carp and became wealthy.

I have learned that it is customary to decorate the oratory of this floor with fruits, with flowers, with flags, and with farmers in various states of happiness and misery. I respectfully submit a poem produced by a laureate of my district and which concerned itself with the tariff speeches of my esteemed opponent at the primaries:

I read these tariff speeches o'er—the more I read of them the more I do not know, but then I can rely upon our Congressman. Upon the very slightest hint he puts a red-hot speech in print, and when he prints that speech, you see, he has it mailed out here to me.

Mac makes it very clear just how if I pay more than I do now for socks and gloves and baby's dress—while I pay more they cost me less. And then he shows me where I lose by paying somewhat less for shoes, for though I pay less than before, my shoes they really cost me more.

He makes it clear to me that what I lose I gain, you see; and on such things as clothes and shoes I seem to gain but really lose. Thus, if I buy my socks too low, they'll still be higher—Dunc says so—and shoes I thought were high last fall were really low shoes after all.

Mac says if I pay less for shoes or hats, the maker has to lose. And if he loses, then, you see, he charges up the loss to me. Now, when I have to pay him more, he reckons profits to his store, and Duncan finds a share for me in all of this prosperity.

The speeches shed a radiant light upon the theme and make it bright; I merely read them o'er and o'er to find more's less and less is more. In buying hat, or coat, or vest, dear's cheap, and cheap is dear at best. High's low, low's high, far's near, near's far, white's black, black's white—and there you are.

We live in topsy-turvy land when McKinley waves his magic wand.

Concerning the change and evolution that have come over the early Republican protective doctrine, designed to foster infant industries, I would further submit the following:

Mary had a little lamb,
Its fleece was white as snow;
It followed her to Pittsburg,
And now you ought to see the darned thing.

The old idea of encouraging new industries is being destroyed by the present system, for, in so far as trusts and monopolies are being encouraged, individual enterprise and individual initiative are being suppressed. A monopoly need not confine its charges to a high percentage of profit on the product, but it can charge up to the public all the graft and mismanagement that may go to make up its costs. It is compelled to be efficient. It can afford to dispense with improvements in machinery and methods. It can put valuable patents in cold storage. Thus the tariff, in so far as it aids the trusts, throttles progress instead of fostering industry.

In song and oratory we are properly reminded of the gratitude we owe to the Providence that placed us in this land of liberty and plenty. Is there not shown a lack of appreciation when we hear the solemn assertions made by some of the gentlemen that our prosperity is not due to the natural bounties of our country, not to the genius and efficiency of our people, but to a system of taxing ourselves? Whatever protest is made against the existing protective tariff an argument promptly adduced in its favor is one which was best phrased by the Honorable "Bathhouse" Coughlin in the city hall of Chicago. He asked a fellow alderman how he could advocate the creation of prohibition territory and consequent loss of revenue from saloon licenses, when, as he stated it, "we are all of us heartily in need of funds." If either the Government or any interest happens to be "heartily in need of funds," there is always a means of raising revenue by boosting the tariff. I do not believe that it helps matters much to hold that we ought to lower the wall to such a point as to provide only for the higher wages of American labor plus a profit to the manufacturer or producer. This amendment still justifies the establishment in our country of industries that do not belong here. It would justify the raising of cocoanuts in hothouses. It would justify a tremendous tax upon tea in order that the laborer engaged in tea culture could be recompensed at upward of a dollar a day, while he is now receiving probably less than 10 cents a day on the other side of the ocean. I am unpatriotic enough to be grateful to the heathen who in their blindness are picking tea for us at that rate of wages, and I would not advocate forcing them to adopt our standard of living by the wearing of American clothes, or even the drinking of Missouri champagne, for I fear they might be brought to feel the necessity of charging us more for doing us this service.

No one has ever shown any fund from which can be drawn the tax levied by the tariff and paid out in subsidies to the protected interests except the fund that resides in the pockets of the people. Those who assume that the tariff is a means of creating prosperity or of creating wealth are much better at juggling and at picking coins out of the air than was Herrmann, the magician. If we can tax ourselves rich, we can prove poker to be a productive industry. Equally an individual may become opulent by shifting coins from one pocket to another, and the nation can acquire wealth, if not merit, by unanimously consenting to the reciprocal picking of pockets by all the people.

Economists would doubtless urge that this universal and fairly distributed pocket-picking system would be unproductive, but we have had too much of doctrinaire teachings to listen to any more of it.

It might be surmised that should the pocket-picking system become thoroughly established it would not be equally enjoyable to all the people. There would be some more adept than others. There would probably be coteries formed in the profession that would band together in "strong-arm" or "hold-up" work, and when if, perchance through popular clamor, because of overactivity the practice were put into partial disrepute and there arose the question of proper limitation, it would be found that the least skilled and the unorganized would first be deprived of the privilege of picking pockets.

Through many of us newly elected members the people are protesting, not against the wealth of the country, but against the present system of distribution, which fully deserves the bitter resentment it has incurred. The evils of distribution are caused by special privileges and the protective tariff creates and licenses privilege. It would not interest the men described in the Pittsburg Survey, who are worked to death and thrown on the junk pile, to figure out and to ascertain how many wives per annum a Pittsburg millionaire could afford out of the dividends of the Steel Trust. Rather would he be interested in supporting one wife and some few

children with less work and more pay. There would be little satisfaction to a cash girl working for the Marshall Field Co. at a weekly wage of $3 to know that she and that corporation were jointly worth over $50,000,000. The people are not satisfied with statistics of national wealth; they want better conditions for themselves.

But, after all, the greatest sin that can be laid at the door of the protective tariff is the economic waste which it encourages. The fortunes piled up by the richest men of the country amount to nothing when set against the annual loss caused by the employment of men in unjustifiable occupations.

A subsidy which supports those occupations must come from other occupations which belong on our soil and in our country, and the men engaged in either the wrong thing or the right thing in the wrong place form an army which we might call the "army of the mal-employed." They have to be supported by the well employed, just as much as every standing army is a charge upon industry.

Some day I expect to hear our standpat Republican friends making the old confession, "We have caused to be done those things that ought not to be done; we have left undone those things that ought to be done, and there is no health in us."

The Record, with its vast compilation of statistics, shows a mathematical ability engaged in proving out what is logically absurd. The accuracy of the almanac does not prove the value of the nostrum it advertises, nor can questions of ethics be determined by the use of logarithms. One is rather inclined to doubt the efficacy of such figures when they are used to prove views diametrically opposed. We get into "topsy-turvy land" when we try to follow the statistics. You must remember the old rhyme—

> Down here below two and two make four;
> Perhaps up in heaven they make six or seven.

The statement was made on this floor that the dividends paid on the stocks of the great corporations were the proof of the wealth of the country and meant prosperity. There might properly be query made as to whether dividends represent the fruit of production or extortion, whether they were produced by the use of plow and ax or spindle and loom, or whether they were "produced" at the point of a revolver or searched for in the pockets of victims rendered unconscious by sandbag or lead pipe.

As a freshman in this course of education, I can not understand how a country can get rich by sharing its natural resources with all who choose to come, dividing our patrimony, as it were, and at the same time keeping out all possible things that can be excluded that would go to increase the size of our hoard. Privilege clamors for cheap labor and immediate development of everything. Statesmanship calls for readjustment of opportunity for ourselves and our children.

The balance of trade argument is not entirely convincing to some of us. Whenever China or Russia improve their balance of trade by exporting foodstuffs in time of famine, there seems to be something the matter with the mathematical self-sufficiency of this theory. If a freezing tramp should sell his clothes, he certainly would improve his balance of trade, although not his condition.

Anyone who has lived on the Pacific coast can not fail to entertain profound respect for the self-helping ability of the Japanese. They are the most remarkable self-helpers in all the world, and no one need ever again invite them to help themselves. Some two years ago, in the islands of Hawaii, just at a time when the cane-grinding season was at hand, the Japanese engaged in that industry unanimously struck. They did not appear to be satisfied with their wages nor disposed to recognize the contract they had made with the planters, which procedure was not entirely original on their part. In the course of the dispute they wrote a series of resolutions to the planters to the effect "that it was the duty of the planters, in accordance with the true American principle of protection, to get an increase in the sugar duty and thereby raise the value of sugar, and then out of the added profit they should divide with the laborers." Strange that this simple and excellent and wholly American plan was not at once adopted.

Let us consider some more phases of Hawaiian sugar. The business was built up first under subsidy and then under a protective tariff. The sugar land is nearly all of it in the hands of the great corporations. These corporations are paying large dividends on inflated values. This is the upper crust of the pie. Next there comes a filling of upward of 400,000 tons of sugar, for which, together with all other sugar, imported and domestic, the American people are paying heavy taxes. The lower crust consists of Oriental labor. The yellow man is everywhere displacing the white man, even in the skilled occupations. The white man of small means has little or no chance to inhabit the "Paradise of the Pacific." It is today a country of corporations and yellow men. The white men are so greatly outnumbered that there seems danger that the pie may be turned over, to the obvious benefit of the under crust, but to the destruction of the upper crust. To prevent such an unfortunate occurrence and to protect the protected-sugar industry we are taxed for an increase in our Navy. To protect the Navy, which must protect the protected-sugar industry, we must be taxed to fortify Pearl Harbor. To protect Pearl Harbor, to protect the Navy, to protect the protected-sugar industry, we must keep near Pearl Harbor a considerable army of men, and these must be supported out of public taxation.

This is an illustration of the "American doctrine," and the American consumer can realize as he pays his grocery bills that he is not only patriotically encouraging an American industry for the benefit of corporations and yellow labor, but that he is encouraging an indefinite increase in our Navy and a probable increase in our Army, always with the possibility that the Navy and the Army aforesaid may have to be actively used to further protect the protected-sugar industry, with all the waste of life and of property incident to war, and at a very rough estimate with four hundred and eighteen thousand millions of dollars of pensions to pay in the years to come.

I can not agree with those gentlemen on the majority side who believe in a tariff for revenue. There is doubtless justification for a high tariff on certain luxuries, but there is no fairness in a

revenue tariff laid upon necessities. The burden is not upon the proper shoulders. Mr. Rockefeller probably pays less Government revenue on the food he consumes than does the average hod-carrier. He would doubtless like to pay as much, but he can not without eating as much. For the present we must look to the tariff for revenue. Eventually we shall provide for Government funds from income tax, from heavy taxation of community-created land values, from rentals of the public domain, all of them direct and comprehensible. We shall have internal-revenue taxation on articles not necessities.

I have discussed theory without any idea that we could afford or should make any sweeping changes at once. Too many people inhabit the rickety structure to permit of its immediate demolition. A revision downward, schedule by schedule, is the beginning of the work, and a notice to make preparations to vacate. At some time or other these patients, the "invalid industries," must leave the hospital, whether to turn their steps to self-support or to the cemetery. They can not forever remain parasitic. The tariff has been too often revised upward by its friends. The people have commissioned its enemies to revise it downward. That we may have a more just system of distribution and a more equitable system of taxation, we must study the sources of our wealth and the means whereby this wealth may be saved and increased for the benefit of the many.

There is great hope in the growing ideals and the clearing outlines of the great policies of State and National conservation. By saving the common wealth for all our people and by wiping out the great special privileges in land and other natural resources, by breaking down the extortions of monopoly and by regulation of our public utilities, we shall make this country better for the average man and no worse for any man.

The Low Tones of a Church Organ, a Friendly Voice and a Cloud of Witnesses

I went early to church that Sunday morning. "Why is it," I thought, "that people, as a rule, are so irregular about attending church services?" There are always a few whom one always can expect to see, but the majority are the ones who come one Sunday and stay away two. Then, too, supposing your own church is closed for a time, and you visit other churches, how many familiar faces will you see?

I was thinking of these things, and in the quiet atmosphere of the place, scarcely conscious of the soft tones of the organ, I fell into a deep reverie.

Presently I perceived a group before me. They did not appear like ordinary worshipers, yet there they were, unmistakably human forms, yet how different the impression they made upon the beholder. No, these were not people who had just come from their homes, with the air still about them of having hurried from their morning meal and into their Sunday attire, without having yet recovered their breath and settled down into the attitude of worship.

No, these people, whoever they were, had the "at home" bearing, as if they had been there always. One of them approached me and I ventured to inquire if they were strangers. "O no," said he, smiling, "but we are not visible to the majority of people, although they feel our presence and know it not. You are just now in that state of passive repose in which we may be visible to you.

"We are *materialized thoughts,* and we always dwell in this sacred edifice, with others of our kind, to help the people who come here. Sunday after Sunday and year after year, from yonder pulpit issue words of life, of peace and consolation, to the listening congregations. Sometimes the people who come here are disposed to differ with the speaker, and criticise some doctrine, whereas, if they would but listen with the inward ear, we could be of great service to them. We could bring them nearer to what constitutes the things worth while. There (pointing to a beautiful woman who was kneeling with hands resting lovingly on the head of a poor sorrowful old lady), is *Love.* The idea of Love has been expressed here so many times that it has become this angelic Presence, always here, ready to serve.

"That one with face upturned and such a divine expression, is Worship. The one over yonder, with the humble but gracious demeanor, is Service. And Harmony, with the beautiful robe of such colors as mortals seldom see; Joy? Yes, surely Joy is here. Do you not see her without any aid from me?"

"Yes," in answer to a question from me, "If the people would but come here, even though accustomed to a different service, they would find their souls fed and themselves possessed of better and higher aspirations, not alone by the words of the sermon, nor by the sacred music in itself, but by the very atmosphere of the place, which, as you see, is composed of a 'Cloud of Witnesses!'

"Then, too," continued he, "besides our own company, we have with us many others, those who, in the years gone by, have been accustomed to worship here, and have since passed from the sight of you mortals. Do you know, my friend, that your own beloved mother is often here, communing with the Infinite in company with the friends she once knew in the dear familiar place? "Think you any man can measure the blessing one receives from such contact? You are aware of the joy and encouragment one often receives at the touch of a friendly human hand; how much more potent is the uplifting influence of a spiritual handclasp!"

The choir arose to sing the opening hymn, and as I became aware of familiar faces about me, my companion faded from my view, and with him, those others.

M. E. H.

The Aim of Art is to increase the happiness of men, by giving them beauty and interest of incident to amuse their leisure, and prevent them wearying even of rest, and by giving them hope and bodily pleasure in their work; or, shortly, to make man's work happy and his rest fruitful. Consequently, genuine art is an unmixed blessing to the race of man.—*William Morris.*

Those the world has pushed ahead
Thought they pulled the world they led.
They were either fast or slow
As the world would have them go:
But they never seemed to know
That behind them came the force
That controlled their speed and course.

—*Ironquill.*

The Tower Hill Encampment (21st Season) and Summer School (22nd Session) for 1911

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will open July 1 for guests, and continue open until September 20. For terms and particulars concerning cottages, rooms in long-houses and dining-room privileges, apply to Mrs. Edith Lackersteen, Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago.

THE SUMMER SCHOOL

will begin Sunday, July 16, and continue four weeks, closing Sunday, August 13. In answer to the desire for and need of University credits on the part of many teachers, the following arrangement will interest prospective attendants at the Summer School.

> The Examiner's office will be very glad, indeed, to refer any students who desire advanced standing upon their courses to the representatives of the departments concerned. The students should call at this office for a card of such reference and then should present the matter to the officer to whom reference is given, to which officer the students should make full explanation of the nature of the work done. It would help very much in securing the credit deserved if the applicant could be furnished by you with a somewhat specific statement of the nature of the course and the time spent upon it in weeks and hours.
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(See syllabus of the University of Chicago.)

Fuller outlines will be published in due time.

THE SIXTH ANNUAL WOMAN'S CONGRESS will occupy the last three days of the Summer School, August 11, 12 and 13.

Tower Hill is reached via the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, Prairie du Chien Division, and is thirty-five miles west of Madison.

Railroad fare from Chicago, $3.35. For further particulars concerning the Summer School inquire of,

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THE FIELD

"The World is my Country, to do good is my Religion."

NOTES FROM THE FIELD

THE CONGRESS OF LIBERAL RELIGION, the program of which was recently printed in UNITY, was held in New York City last week. It is reported as follows: "A decided success; admirable addresses on large topics; a fine spirit through and through it all." At the final session twelve denominations were unofficially reported in five-minute speeches of good-will. It is hoped that the papers and proceedings will be published.

THE LEAGUE OF RELIGIOUS FELLOWSHIP. The annual meeting of this organization wil be held at Sinai Temple, Indiana Avenue and Twenty-first Street, Monday, May 15, 1911, at 11:00 a. m. Mrs. Elia W. Peattie will read a paper on the Special Function of the Church. Mrs. Celia Parker Woolley will open the discussion. Luncheon will be served for thirty-five cents.

WESTERN UNITARIAN CONFERENCE

FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

(To be held in All Souls Unitarian Church, Indianapolis, Ind., Alabama St., near Fifteenth, May 16, 17, 18, 1911.)

PROGRAMME.

Monday, May 15.

4:00 p. m. Meeting of Board of Directors.
7:30 p. m. Conference Sermon, Rev. Fred V. Hawley, Chicago.
9:00 p. m. Reception to visiting ministers by the Indiana Harvard Club at the University Club.

Tuesday, May 16.

9:00 a. m. Meeting of Missionary Council.

Alliance Day.

10:00 a. m. Alliance Conference, Miss Fanny Field, Director for Ohio, presiding.
Topic, "How can we best use the power generated by the Alliance?
Discussion opened by Mrs. Tarkington Baker, Indianapolis.
General Discussion.
1:00 p. m. Alliance Luncheon, Mrs. Robert S. Fletcher, Indianapolis, presiding.
Greetings from Visitors.
2:30 p. m. Program Meeting, Mrs. Emma N. Delano, Chicago, presiding.
Alliance Hymn.
Invocation, Rev. E. C. Smith.
Words of Welcome, Mrs. F. S. C. Wicks.
Greetings of the National Alliance, Miss Emma C. Low, President National Alliance.
Address, "Alliance Conditions and Opportunities," Mrs. Mary B. Davis, New York.
Discussion.
Benediction.
6:00 p. m. Ministers' luncheon.
8:00 p. m. Platform Meeting.
"The Pulpit and Social Endeavor," Rev. Maxwell Savage, Louisville, Ky.
"The Demand of the Laboring Man," Rev Rowena Morse, Chicago.
"Breaking Down the Barriers," Rev. Arthur L. Weatherly, Lincoln, Neb.

Wednesday, May 17.

9:30 a. m. Business Session.
Address of Welcome.
President's Address.
Written reports by State Secretaries (five minutes each).
Michigan—Rev. Burton A. Hills.
Illinois—Rev. Fred V. Hawley.
Minnesota—Rev. George R. Gebauer.
Iowa—Rev. Eleanor E. Gordon.
Missouri Valley—Rev. J. H. Jones.
Report of Treasurer, Mr. Clement K. Pittman.
Report of Secretary, Rev. Ernest C. Smith.
Offering of Resolutions.
1:00 p. m. Luncheon in the Church Dining Room.
2:30 p. m. "RELIGIOUS EDUCATION."
"Some Ideals," Rev. Eugene R. Shippen, Detroit, Mich.
"Some Discoveries," Rev. Robert S. Loring, Iowa City, Iowa.
"The Value of the Story in Religious Education," Miss Edith D. Wachestetter, Indianapolis.
Discussion.
Devotional Service, Rev. Percy M. Dawson, Ann Arbor, Mich.
8:00 p. m. Platform Meeting.
"SPECIAL TYPES OF OUR WORK."
"A Mission Church and Its Work," Rev. Troward H. Marshall, Dayton, Ohio.
"A College Town Church and Its Work," Rev. Albert R. Vail, Urbana, Ill.
"A Well-established City Church and Its Work," Rev. Minot O. Simons, Cleveland, Ohio.

Thursday, May 18.

9:30 a. m. Business Session.
Discussion and Votes on Resolutions.
Election of Officers.
2:30 p. m. Automobile trips about the city.
6:30 p. m. Banquet.
Toastmaster, Hon. Hugh McKennan Landon.
Speakers:
Rev. J. H. Mueller.
Rev. Manfred Lilliefors, Ph.D.
Mr. Mitchell D. Follansbee.
Rev. George A. Thayer, D. D.

INVITATION.

All Souls Church of Indianapolis invites the delegates to the Fifty-ninth annual meeting of the Western Unitarian Conference to be its guests during the Conference sessions. Acceptances of this invitation stating probable time of arrival and departure should be sent to Mrs. Robert S. Fletcher, 27 West St. Joe St., so as to reach her not later than May 9. A card will then be sent to each guest giving name of host with directions how to reach the house on arrival in Indianapolis.

GENERAL INFORMATION.

All Souls Church is on Alabama St., near 15th. Take Alabama St. car. Members of the Hospitality Committee will be at the church on Monday afternoon and at each session of the Conference.

The Alliance Luncheon to be served at the church on Tuesday is open to all members of the Conference, men as well as women. Tickets are fifty cents each. All desiring to attend should notify Mrs. Fletcher not later than May 12.

The luncheon at the church on Wednesday is given for the delegates by the ladies of All Souls Church.

The tickets for the Ministers' Supper are fifty cents each. Notice of intention to attend should be sent to Rev. F. S. C. Wicks, 2041 Talbott Ave., not later than May 12.

The banquet will be held in the dining room of the church. The tickets are $1.00 each and may be secured after arrival at Indianapolis, though advance notice of intention to attend is desired. Such notice may be given to Mrs. Fletcher when accepting the hospitality offered by the church.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE CONFERENCE.

Any person may become a Life Member of this Conference by the payment of twenty-five dollars in one sum, or an Annual Member by the payment of one dollar.

Delegate Membership is acquired by certificate of appointment by any religious society or organization that shall have, during the previous year, contributed not less than ten dollars to the Conference. Such society or organization may be so represented by three general delegates, and one additional delegate for every thirty families. These delegates, together with all the officers of the Conference, and of the State Conference within its limits, and all missionaries at work within its limits, alone have the right to vote.

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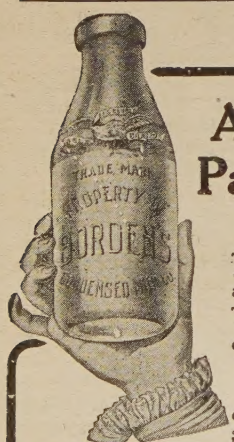

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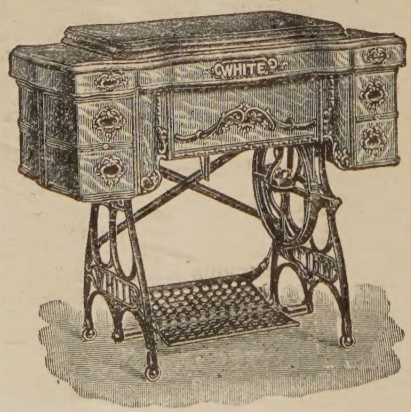

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